

of drinks before the stupor and sleep, which were the desired results, would follow. A person under the influence of the drink¹ was very highly sensitive to noise. According to Père Pierre (4) the god Papaiea was thought to possess a man at this time. This god was supposed to be irritated by noise, the violent trembling which sometimes affected the body of the *kava* drinker being caused by his agitation. To stop the trembling the man's stomach would be struck a blow or his wife would sit, nude, on his chest. It was believed that the contact of her body would frighten away the god. [774]

A scaling off of the skin (*ha'a poha*) resulted from the excessive use of the beverage. According to natives, however, there were no lasting ill effects; the nervous effect and scaling of the skin passing off with a short period of abstinence. Dordillon gives *puhe kava* as the name of a kind of chant which was sung before *kava* was drunk (8). There was no formality connected with *kava* drinking in the Marquesas. [755]

FESTIVALS

The term *ko'ina* is used in the Marquesas to apply to any festivity whether a small family feast or a great festival. The different types of *ko'ina* are indicated by the use of an adjective describing the purpose of the celebration, following the word *ko'ina*—thus, *ko'ina tupapa'u*, feast for the dead. 527 ●

Feasts or festivals celebrated every incident and occurrence of importance to families or tribes. The completion of any new object of manufacture or of the labor of any industry requiring communal work was always celebrated with a feast or festival, as were also religious and social events. On the surface some *ko'ina* appear to be purely for amusement, as for example the chanting feasts that are described under Chants. But even these had actually definite purposes, such as the lauding or elevation of the individual for whom the chant was composed.

The great festivals were merely elaborated feasts. For the most part they celebrated in a chief's family the same incidents and occurrences that in private families were celebrated with smaller feasts; or they celebrated the completion of labor or a religious rite in which the tribe as a whole had been concerned. Tribal festivals may be grouped into several classes: those celebrating abundant harvests of the fruits of sea or land; those celebrating such occurrences in the chief's family as marriage, tattooing, death, and so on; the memorial festivals when offerings were made by different families in honor of those who had died some time before; and certain other religious festivals.

All feasts and festivals and also the industries were intimately associated with religious rites. In connection with every industry there were [i.e., *Kava*—Analyst]

- 527 feasts; in connection with every large feast, there was a great deal of organized labor, which might well be studied under industries—the building of special houses, the preparation of drums, food, and so on; and in connection both with industries and festivals, there were always elaborate religious performances and rites—chants, dances, *tapu*, and sacrifices were a part of every large festival. In considering the great festivals, it is difficult to know whether the festivities should be regarded as adjuncts of the religious rites, or vice versa. A part of practically every feast place was a temple (*me'ae*). It is only a matter of point of view whether one regards the feast place as an adjunct to the temple, or the temple as an adjunct to the feast place. The truth is that neither was an adjunct to the other, that both were parts of a unit in the tribal community center before the chief's house, just as work, religious rites, and festivals formed for the native a unit in his private and public activities.
- [796]

The times of celebration of the great festivals were regulated by the seasons. Every great occasion was marked by an enormous feast; hence it was only in seasons of abundance that such feasts could be celebrated. This practical limitation on account of provisions seems on the surface to be the explanation of the fact that all of these great festivals were celebrated when good breadfruit harvests had been garnered. Just what magical elements there may be in this allocation of the great festivals during the season of abundance is uncertain. It seems probable that all of the festivals formed parts of a period of general celebration during the time of abundance in the Marquesas, as in Hawaii and Tahiti. Langsdorff wrote (18, p. 158):

In days of plenty, these gay people have a variety of amusements of different kinds. At the time of year when the breadfruit is ripe, so that there is great abundance of it, the chiefs and principal people of the valley make popular festivals; for this purpose they collect swine, cocoa-nuts, bananas, and many kinds of roots, so as to feast the people for some time.

The manner in which truces were made in war time in order to allow for the preparation for and celebration of fêtes is described by Krusenstern (16, p. 169):

- 527 The wars with the Tai-pih are continued by land, until one of the two kings
721 (and they have both a right to it) shall demand a truce for the purpose of celebrating their dance-feast, the Olympic games of these savages, and which according to their customs must not be deferred too long. In order to celebrate this they agree upon a term, and all parties, friends as well as enemies, assist in the preparations; and as a proof that these coarse, bloodthirsty men have no pleasure in a continued state of warfare, but are glad to live occasionally in peace and security, they frequently prolong the time necessary to prepare for these feasts, which last only a few days. Six months had elapsed since the last truce was proclaimed, and eight months longer were to pass before the feast began; although no other prepara-

tions were required than to make a new place upon which the dance is to be celebrated. After the termination of the feast, they return home, and the war recommences in all its vigour. From the moment a truce is announced, which is done by planting a branch of a cocoa tree on the top of the mountain, the war instantly terminates. 527
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THE FEAST PLACE

The feast place called *taha ko'ina* (*taha*, place) consisted of a paved dance area (*tohua*), always roughly in the form of a parallelogram and sometimes of a great size, surrounded by platforms (*paepae*). On the dance area there was frequently, if not always, a special space marked off by stone slabs set on edge for the choirs of old men who chanted. *Hii tohua* is given by Dordillon (8) as meaning seated on stones around the public place; *tuu*, as being the name of the square place surrounded by red tufa stone where rites over sacrifices were performed. There were stone back rests (*kepo*) against which chanters leaned. On the paved area itself were sometimes special small platforms on which a chief or chiefess sat. On the platforms at the times of festivals temporary houses were erected, different platforms and different parts of platforms being reserved for special purposes. At one end of or on one side of the area was a place of sacrifice (*me'ae*) on which stood the house of the high priest (*tas'a*) and where the priests and their assistants performed their rites. Opening on the feast place or near to it was always the chief's house; and on or near it was the warriors' *tapu* house. These dance areas were regarded as the property of the tribal chief, and as such constituted community centers for the tribe. 527
347

The construction of a new feast place was itself, apparently, always a part of some great festival, such as, for example, a fête for the purpose of honoring the son of a chief or a great memorial celebration for the dead. In other words when a new feast place was made as a part of such a celebration, the building of it was a part of the rite, the feast place and the new temple constituting, so to speak, a votive offering.

Just as a man desiring to build a small house platform would give a small feast inviting his friends to come bringing stones, so the chief who desired to honor his son greatly instituted a great festival, inviting his people, and his allies, to bring stones, to aid in the work, and to make merry. When such a feast place was to be made all the tribe was called in and worked under the direction of the chief and his executives and master craftsmen. The work was *tapu* and the place and workers had to be kept free from contamination through contact with womankind. The great stones that were used in the platforms were brought by groups of men or one very large stone might be brought by a whole tribe working together. A tribe, or people, living by a quarry would contribute the cut

- 527 stone slabs. The stones were carried by lashing them to crossed poles
349 forming a frame like a bier. (See Stonework). According to Père
Siméon (7) the feast places were named for dead chiefs or for chiefs' children in whose honor they were constructed. Old feast places were sometimes made over or demolished and the material used for a new one. The first rite that was performed on the altar of the new feast place was doubtless always the offering of the human sacrifice that consecrated it.

Melville (3, p. 101) describes a feast place as follows:

... comprising an extensive oblong pi-pi terminating at either end in a lofty terraced altar, guarded by ranks of hideous wooden idols, and with the two remaining sides flanked by ranges of bamboo sheds, opening towards the interior of the quadrangle thus formed. Vast trees, standing in the middle of this space, and throwing over it an umbrageous shade, had their massive trunks built round with slight stages, elevated a few feet above the ground, and railed in with canes, forming so many rustic pulpits, from which the priests harangued their devotees.

Access was had to the enclosure through an embowered entrance on one side, facing a number of towering cocoa-nut trees, planted at intervals along a level area of a hundred yards. At the further extremity of this space was to be seen a building of considerable size, reserved for the habitation of the priests and religious attendants of the grove.

In its vicinity was the men's house. (See War.)

THE CELEBRATION OF THE FESTIVAL

- 527 When a great festival was planned, it often required restrictions
(*kahui*) on different foods for long periods, sometimes a year or more before the time set for the rite. This was to enable the people to grow pigs, and to make the fruits plentiful. The immediate preparations before the festival consisted in the construction of temporary houses at the feast place, in which visitors were to reside, and in which food was prepared and other preparations for the fête were made; the making of great ovens about the feast place in which hogs were to be baked; the pounding and cooking of *popoi* and preparation and serving of other kinds of food.

- [431] On Nuku Hiva a custom called *moko* (to beg) consisted in going around the island soliciting provisions for a great feast. Each bay would be asked to supply and bring a certain amount of food. Those seeking provisions would go through the valleys, and, approaching a house would say, "*E moko i te puaka*" (I seek pigs). The request was never refused.

- 527 The following incident furnishes an example of the cooperative activity
476 in preparation for *ko'ina*. Once a great number of war canoes filled with men went around to Atu Ona from Pua Ma'u. The Na-iki were so frightened (according to the Pua Ma'u version) that they all fled to the hills. When they found that the Pa'aha-tai (the Pua Ma'u people) were friendly they came down and set to work to prepare a great feast. Now, at the

place where they were preparing the *ko'ina* there were no stones for the oven. So the Pa'aha-tai formed a continuous line to the seashore; along the line the stones were passed to the feast place, which was probably at Pekia about two miles from the shore. 527 ● 476

Groups would come to the feast place bringing their contributions of provisions. As they approached, a crier or leader, called *patautau*, would cry out or chant in a very loud voice, announcing the identity of the approaching party.

On the actual day of the feast festivities usually began before dawn with beating of drums and chanting at the feast place. A different order of ceremony regulated each type of festival. The food was sometimes all eaten at the feast place, sometimes part of it was taken home, sometimes all of it was taken home. At certain feasts there was the custom called *fao ta kai*, which signified the snatching and looting on the part of all who came of everything they could lay their hands on. Besides the feast there were chants, religious rites, dancing, and much merrymaking and display of finery. Formal chants and dances were accompanied by the drums, large and small. 527

When chanting and dancing was going on, as when the religious rites were being performed, spectators sat in silence. Women and children, other than those who were taking part in the singing and dancing, had to remain on the platforms, but they circulated freely on those sections on which they were allowed. In the great festivals special platforms were allotted to different tribes, and platforms or parts of platforms were reserved for different classes of people—for example, separate platforms for chiefs, for master craftsmen and warriors, for chiefs's sons and old men, for chiefs' daughters, for common men, for women and children, and so on.

TERMINOLOGY OF FESTIVALS

The following terms with their meanings relating to feasts, given by Dordillon (8), are suggestive: 527 192

Avaava. Gift made at a funerary feast.

Fiti e mau haa. To distribute a feast, naming in a high voice those to whom shares were given.

Makahiti. Cry of invitation to a feast, naming aloud those to whom it is given and assigning to them portions of the dishes.

Haa hua i te ko'ina. To prepare a feast.

Hei titi. Small fete—within a larger one (*pa'sitavai*).

Hutaha. Licentious fete.

Kahau, ahau. Cry of invitation to a feast, naming all the guests invited.

Kavepua. Food carried to the house of an individual or a tribe that gives a feast.

Mataki. Distribution in which everyone had part.

Mau. A great feast.

Hei mau. He who gives the feast.

- 527 Mau hai titii. He for whom the feast is given.
 Kaimau. The rest of the company.
 192 Naihana. Those who prepare the fete (*tuakaka*).
 Pii tahi. In a distribution to give only one thing or object to each person who takes part; pii ua, to give two, etc.

BETROTHAL FESTIVALS

- 584 The rites that accompanied formal betrothal and marriage constituted parts of one unit of formalities marking the binding together of families or tribes. The rites and festival of marriage (*hunono*) merely completed those begun at betrothal (*tuia*). The elaborate rites and ceremonies about to be described were not performed to celebrate the union of every couple who might come together as *tuia* or *hunono* (See Personal Relationship), but only for formal alliances. Nor was the betrothal always followed by the marriage rite, for some youths never consummated their marriage with the girls to whom they had been affianced.

A *tuia* (betrothed) was frequently sought for a child from another couple before the expected child had been born, perhaps as soon as the woman became pregnant. If when the child was born it proved to be of the same sex as its prospective *tuia*, the matter was dropped. It was natural that great care should be taken in providing for *tuia* for first-born children. Proper arrangements were necessary: first, for the sake of the prestige of the family; secondly, as a preliminary step on the part of a man towards securing his own spiritual future by arranging for suitable offspring to care for his remains and to continue his family line.

The ceremonial of arranging for *tuia* at Pua Ma'u (called there *ha'a paupau*) was as follows: The parents made the overtures on behalf of the child and came to those whose son or daughter they were contracting for as *tuia*, bringing with them their child and gifts. They were received by the parents of the prospective *tuia* seated on a small platform that had been built especially for the occasion, consisting of a single row (or level) of the usual stream boulders used in building platforms. If their child were old enough, it was seated with them. Back of them was a shrine (*feia'u*) consisting of two posts decorated with plaited coconut leaves (*kopiripiri*), with other coconut leaves suspended in some way between them. This shrine and, in fact, the small platform, the whole rite and all its adjuncts, appear to have been called inclusively and severally *paupau*. After the visiting parents had formally presented their gifts, there was a feast, of which both families partook.

A detailed description of an elaborate rite of betrothal was obtained at Atu Ona: A Ta'a Oa father decided that he wanted his boy (or girl) whose age was perhaps four or five, to marry the daughter (or son) of a